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THE TABLET.—No. XLVII.

The author of the Tablet presents the following Speculation from a friend, for the forty-seventh number.

"The diversity of interests in the United States, under a wise government, will prove the Cement of the Union."

FORMERLY, it was the policy of Great Britain to disseminate the idea, that the several colonies were too much divided by religion, manners and customs, by different interests, and prejudices more obstinate than interest, to assimilate and form a government of their own. It is not remarkable that Britain should cherish and diffuse an opinion so favorable to her power. And tho we have reason to lament, we have none to wonder at, the degree of success which attended her truly maternal endeavors. The intercourse of the colonies with her was much greater than with one another. It is known that people are very susceptible of the opinions of those with whom they have dealings. Our dealings were with Britain almost exclusively, and we adopted many of her favorite doctrines with a docility and confidence which in fact, her conduct was calculated to inspire. The leading men, who gave a tone to the public sentiment in this country, were Britons, or colonists as ardently attached as Britons themselves to the connection with the mother country. There was an apparent utility in this error, which not only made it plausible, but stifled enquiry. Indeed the subject at that time, would better stand the test of disquisition than at present. The colonies were filling with new people, who were so far from having adopted the habits and manners of the more ancient settlements, that they had not sufficiently assimilated with one another, to assume a national character.

But it is unnecessary to enumerate all the causes which concurred to produce in the colonists a spirit of mutual alienation and distrust. It is not to be doubted that, in a long course of time, the product of this cursed seed would have been abundant.—With infinite mischiefs, the war brought this good, it blasted it's vegetation. However, some of these poisonous plants still infest our fields, and are mingled with our harvests.

When we express our surprise that these repulsive prejudices continue to exist, we are desired to attend to the facts which it is pretended will render them perpetual.

It is asserted, that there is, at this day, so great a diversity between the different States in point of religion, manners, habits and interests, as to render the administration of a general government inconvenient, and perhaps impracticable. Certainly this doctrine has not novelty to recommend it. For ever since the jealousy of Britain adopted the maxim, *divide et impera*, it has been inculcated by her missionaries and proselytes with all imaginable zeal and solemnity.

Many appeal to the supposed fact, that the eastern and southern States have opposite interests. Undoubtedly a *diversity* of interests is one of the most fruitful sources of contention and hatred. Too much stress however, is generally laid upon it. For such interests, tho *different* are not always *repugnant*. The great modern improvement in government, is to leave individuals at liberty to seek their advantage their own way—partial to none but protecting all. We cannot subdivide a society sufficiently to avoid this supposed diversity. The smallest will be found to comprehend jarring interests, and to be formed by a congeries of heterogeneous and repulsive materials, which, merely in consequence of being accumulated, tend to fermentation and dissolution. Indeed, we shall perceive that the interest of each individual is exclusive of that of all others, until government combines them, and makes it the advantage of each one to advance the prosperity of the whole.

Uniformity of faith is an useless chimera. Uniformity of interests is equally so. Diversity in both produces discussion. Men respect one another's opinions, and become liberal, they enquire and perhaps find truth: The tendency is, to rouse them from an indolent neglect of public business, and to check the natural proneness of all parties to excess.

It is very certain that the employments of the southern and eastern States are different: But it is denied that their interests are incompatible. If the wealth and power of one does not tend to make the other weak and poor, it is difficult to conceive, why they should be mutually jealous. Admitting the idea of seperate and hostile powers, the aggrandisement of one State might well be alarming to her neighbors. But thanks to the good sense of our countrymen, the new Constitution has banished a principle of state policy which should make a patriot shiver with horror. In every other respect, each has an interest in the prosperity of the whole. If rice and indigo produce wealth, the people and the taxable property are encreased. The consumption of dutied articles encreases. The New-Hampshire man is as much relieved and benefited as if the tax was raised from his next county. The navigation and fishery of the States will furnish the means of a navy to protect the export of the staple articles.

England and France are rivals in trade as well as power, because each endeavors to supplant the other in the sale of the like commodities. England would excel France in the silk manufacture. And France endeavors to beat her rival out of the woolen and hard ware branches. Their vindictive regulations have, perhaps, mutually injured each other infinitely more than either has benefited herself. But what foundation is there for such a competition in America. Virginia raises tobacco. New-England never can become her competitor in that culture. The rice, indigo and cotton are confined by nature to the more southern Sates. The culture of corn admits of no rivalry. The consumers will grow up to the market. For the human species will encrease in every country in proportion to the regular means of subsistence.

A man who should attempt to sow jealousy among the New-England States, or between Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, by alledging that they have jarring interests, would certainly be laughed at. His success would not be sufficiently feared to make him detested. Yet these are manufacturing States: And in every market their people are contending for a preference. These are the States whom diversity of interests should divide. The market may be over stocked with fish, oil or lumber. This will affect the dealers in those articles. But how can it affect the sale of tobacco?

The conclusion is, that no large country in the world is so little divided by opposite interests. The eastern and southern States are necessary to one another: And nature has interposed to forbid their becoming commercial rivals. What one raises, the other wants, and when one prospers, all will partake. If the great staples should fail, navigation would decline. Should our own seamen and shipping be diminished, the staple States might, and, in case of an European war, certainly would want a conveyance for their valuable exports to the market. In peace and war, their trade would be merely passive—The markets and purchasers would be chosen for them, and they would not be in a condition to seek the best for themselves. This is evinced by the great success and rapid growth of our East India trade. By means of possessing shipping, some of the States have sought, in the extremities of the earth, new markets for the sale of their butter and salted provisions, which would never have sought them.

Without violent evidence, a patriot should not admit that the interests of the southern and eastern parts of the Union are opposite. It will require some reflection to suppress his wonder, that not only without evidence, but against the most palpable, it ever has been the creed of the country. It is time to think more justly, and more *rationally*, which is the same thing. The internal commerce of our country is the most to be cherished. It affords the quickest returns, and the profit is not divided, as that of foreign trade is, with strangers. We ought to look forward with pleasure to the rapid extention of our home market, already vast, and soon to become a world of our own.

(to be continued.)

NEW-YORK, SEPTEMBER 23, 1789.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

IN SENATE.

The Conventions of a number of the States having, at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added: And as extending the ground of public confidence in the government, will best insure the beneficent ends of its institution—

RESOLVED, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concuring, That the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution, viz.

ARTICLES in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

After the first enumeration, required by the first article of the Constitution, there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred; to which number one representative shall be added for every subsequent increase of forty thousand, until the Representatives shall amount to two hundred, to which number one Representative shall be added for every subsequent increase of sixty thousand persons.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

ARTICLE THE THIRD.

Congress shall make no law establishing articles of faith, or a mode of worship, or prohibiting the free exercise of religion, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition to the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE THE FIFTH.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE THE SIXTH.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE THE SEVENTH.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war, or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE THE EIGHTH.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE THE NINTH.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact, tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE THE TENTH.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE THE ELEVENTH.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE THE TWELFTH.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

In the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES,

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1889.

SKETCH *of the* DEBATE *on the* SALARIES *of the* JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

MR. GOODHUE moved to strike out 4500 dollars, the proposed salary of the Chief Justice, and to insert 3000.

Mr. BURKE who was one of the committee on the bill, said, that he had been opposed to the sum; but a majority being in favor of it, it was adopted: He still thought it too much.

Mr. LAWRANCE (who was also one of the committee) observed that he had been in favor of the sum, and was so still. I do not (said he) think it is too much, considering the very important nature of the duties assigned to this officer, and the high trust committed to his care. The Laws and the Constitution of the United States are in his hands. To the Judges of the Supreme Court we are to look for decisions on the most interesting points, and on those decisions causes of the greatest possible magnitude depend. The sum proposed I do not think will be considered too high; there is a predilection among the people in favor of their judges, it is the general opinion that they should be well paid. This sentiment is honorary to the people; it is productive of the happiest effects and ought to be encouraged. I am willing to risk my popularity in giving my vote for this sum. I do not think it will be considered too high. I should rather be for encreasing than diminishing it. When we consider what is paid to similar officers in other countries, we find that these salaries bear no proportion to those allowances. To induce gentlemen of the first abilities to come forward; and to place them in that situation which shall be above temptation, you cannot give them a less sum. It will be of very little consequence, that the Judges hold their places during good behavior, if you do not make them independent in their salaries. I hope therefore the sum will not be struck out.

Mr. GOODHUE observed, that he did not think there was any propriety in refering to other countries for examples on this occasion. Circumstances, said he, do not apply. We must have regard to the ideas of our own people, and to the circumstances of our own country. And the only enquiry, in my opinion, is, what has been customary, and what may be necessary in the present case. He then referred to the salaries which are given in particular States, and tho in some instances they are below what they ought o be, yet they command the first abilities. The

ſum propoſed in the bill is ſo much beyond all example in any of the States, as will be conſidered beyond the abilities of the people.

The grants we have already made, are in general ſo high, and will excite ſo much uneaſineſs, that I was in hopes that we ſhould not have proceeded one ſtep further in that line of policy. I hope, Sir, the motion will obtain.

Mr. BENSON urged the neceſſity of an ample allowance, in order to command the firſt abilities. He ſaid, there is no doubt, but plenty of candidates may be found who would ſerve for 1500 dollars, or a leſs ſum. Inſtances may be mentioned of perſons offering to ſerve as Governor in ſome of the States, for 500 dollars: But if it is intended to have the office reſpectable by its being filled with competent abilities—a leſs ſum than that propoſed will not be found adequate.

Mr. AMES obſerved, that he had frequently heard in the Houſe abſtract reaſonings upon the ſubject of ſalaries and compenſations: But for my part (ſaid he) I think ſuch reaſonings have very little to do in the buſineſs. The only enquiry is, what ſum is neceſſary to command the firſt abilities in the reſpective States.—The gentlemen from various quarters can determine with a good degree of preciſion, for themſelves. I think I can ſpeak for the four New-England States—and ſuppoſe that 1500 dollars per annum for this officer, would be an object to excite the attention of men of the firſt abilities in thoſe States.

Gentlemen may be found who would make the greateſt exertions to qualify themſelves for the office.—I hope, Sir, the motion for ſtriking out the ſum will obtain.

Mr. LIVERMORE and Mr. WHITE ſpoke next, and were both in favor of ſtriking out 4500.

Mr. VINING advocated the ſum in the report. He ſtated the amount of the whole expence to be incurred; and contraſted it with the benefits to be derived to the United States, from the inſtitution. The object, ſaid he, is to attract and command the firſt abilities. There are many gentlemen in the practice of law, whoſe abilities command a greater income than 3000 dollars per annum. Can it be expected that ſuch perſons will relinquiſh their lucrative profeſſions merely for the honor of ſerving the United States? It cannot be expected—and yet Sir, I preſume the very firſt abilities are the object to be obtained.

Mr. GERRY was in favor of the motion. He went into a conſideration of the debts, taxes and burthens of the people; from thence urged the neceſſity of the utmoſt prudence and economy in our expenditures and appropriations. He referred to the ſituation of Great Britain, and contraſting our circumſtances with theirs, he ſaid the ſalary of the Chief Juſtice ought to be about 400l. ſterling. He referred to what had been ſaid reſpecting the incomes of lawyers, and obſerved that he believed where there is one that gets 3000 dollars a year by his practice, there are twenty who do not get one third of that ſum. I conceive, ſaid he, that a much leſs ſum than that propoſed will command the firſt abilities upon the continent.

Mr. JACKSON ſaid he did not doubt the truth of what the gentleman ſaid reſpecting lawyers; but I would aſk, ſaid he, if the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States are to be taken from the loweſt claſs of lawyers? There is no doubt but that Judges may be obtained for 500l. but what kind of law—what deciſions will you get from ſuch judges? There are lawyers in ſome of the States, who make from 1500 to 2000 guineas a year by their great abilities: Will ſuch men relinquiſh their emoluments for the honor of ſerving the United States?

I have received accounts from the ſouthward by which I find that gentlemen are declining Public appointments on account of the ſmallneſs of the ſalaries. We ought to conſider the great importance of this officer—that the lives, the properties and rights of the citizens are to depend on his deciſions—that the diſputes between the different States are to be finally ſettled in this court—that the preſervation of the Conſtitution of the United States and of the individual States depends in a great meaſure on the wiſdom, impartiality and independency of this officer; and in caſes of impeachment, the Preſident of the United States is to be tried by him—all the great appeals, and matters of treaty, &c. From theſe conſiderations, the firſt abilities ſhould be procured—an ample and generous allowance ought to be given, ſo that every poſſible inducement to an undue bias and influence may be taken away.

Mr. PAGE ſpake againſt low ſalaries. Among many other obſervations he ſaid, that it had been conſidered by many, that low ſalaries were republican: But I am of a different opinion: It will be found that low ſalaries are anti-republican; and that if you reduce your officers to a ſcanty allowance, you depreciate the government you have eſtabliſhed.

Mr. SMITH (S. C.) was oppoſed to a reduction of the ſum. He adverted to the circumſtance of raiſing the ſalaries of the judges in England at the acceſſion of the preſent King: From the idea of rendering them more independent than they had been. He then ſtated the amount of their ſalaries, and the ſituation of people in that country in reſpect to public burdens.

He then refered to the ſalaries of the Judges in ſeveral of the States; and pointed out the proportion of expence which the judiciary of the State of South Carolina bore to the amount of their whole civil liſt, and made it one third, whereas the judiciary of the United States would not amount to one eighth. He then urged the neceſſity of holding out ſuch inducements as would influence the firſt abilities to accept of the appointment: He urged the importance of making the Judges independent: He conſidered the judicial department as the ſheet anchor of the Conſtitution—A department of the firſt conſequence to the Union—A department which in all civilized countries is placed in an eligible and independent ſituation.

Mr. MADISON, after recapitulating the obſervations reſpecting the firſt abilities, ſaid, that it ought to be conſidered, that theſe Judges muſt make a new acquiſition of legal knowledge.—They muſt have a familiar acquaintance with the laws of every State.—They muſt underſtand the nature of treaties, and eſpecially the treaties now ſubſiſting betwen theſe States and foreign countries, &c.—Theſe ſtudies will abſorb a great deal of their time.

When we conſider the duties that will devolve upon them, they ſtrike the mind as being of the greateſt magnitude.—They are the guardians of the Laws and of the Conſtitution of the United States—and I truſt of the individual States alſo.

When we conſider the great and important cauſes, in which opulent individuals will be parties, that are to come under their cognizance, we muſt be ſtruck with the propriety of ſhielding theſe Judges from all poſſible aſſaults of temptation.—To theſe if we add important caſes of treaties, in which the greateſt intereſts will be involved, the idea will receive additional force. Upon the whole conſidering the circumſtances of the people, I ſhall diſagree to the ſum propoſed by the committee, but at the ſame time I ſhall not agree to the propoſed reduction.

Mr. STONE, Mr. GERRY and Mr. JACKSON added ſome few obſervations—when the queſtion for ſtriking out 4500 was carried, and 4000 being propoſed for inſertion was alſo carried, 27 to 24.

Every article in this bill was oppoſed and advocated upon the foregoing, or ſimilar principles.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 19.

The Houſe took up the report of the committee of the whole on the Bill to eſtabliſh the ſalaries of the judicial department. The ſalaries reported were ſeverally confirmed, except the ſalary of the Chief Juſtice, which was reduced to 3500 dollars, and the Diſtrict Judge of Georgia, from 1600 to 1500 dollars. The ſalary of the Diſtrict Judge of Kentucky was increaſed from 800 to 1000 dollars, and the Attorney General reduced from 2000 to 1500.

In going through the report Mr. WHITE, moved that it ſhould be ſo amended as to fix the ſalary of the Diſtrict Judge of Maſſachuſetts at 1000 dollars. He obſerved that this was not intended to affect Maſſachuſetts alone, but to operate through the whole ſyſtem; if he ſucceeded in that motion he ſhould make a ſimilar one with regard to the other States. That the Judiciary ſyſtem was regarded by the people with a more jealous eye than any other part of the Conſtitution; that he conceived it both unjuſt and impolitic to give the Diſtrict Judges higher ſalaries than the Judges of the ſeveral States: Unjuſt, becauſe their duties would not be ſo burdenſome; and impolitic becauſe it would degrade the State Judiciaries by placing a ſubordinate federal judge in a more exalted or more eligible ſituation than the State Judges. That 1000 dollars being the ſalaries of the Judges in Maſſachuſetts and Virginia, he ſuppoſed it might be nearly the average throughout the continent. Mr. White obſerved that he had never called for the yeas and nays—that he had endeavored to ſtifle the practice in its birth; but being then over ruled, and the meaſure having been adopted on numberleſs important ſubjects, he hoped he ſhould be indulged. The motion for the yeas and nays was over ruled. The queſtion being put on the propoſed amendment to the report of the committee, was negatived.

The Secretary of the Treaſury, purſuant to the order of the Houſe of the 17th inſt. reported an eſtimate of the ſums requiſite to be appropriated during the preſent ſeſſion of Congreſs, towards defraying the expences of the civil liſt, and of the department of War, to the end of the preſent year, and for ſatisfying ſuch warrants as have been drawn by the late Board of Treaſury, which yet remain unpaid.

A meſſage was received from the Senate, accompanying a bill for regulating the proceſs in the court of the United States.——Refered to a committee of the whole on Monday.

Alſo the Judicial bill, in which the Senate had concured with ſeveral of the amendments propoſed by the Houſe, and diſagreed to others.

The Houſe proceeded to conſider the amendments made by the Senate to the bill for amending the Conſtitution of the United States—ſome of which they negatived, and others they concurred in; but not having time to go through the ſame, adjourned.

MONDAY, SEPT. 21.

Thoſe amendments to the Judiciary bill, in which the Senate had not concured, were taken up, and the Houſe receded from the ſame, and agreed with the Senate.

The report of the Secretary of the Treaſury was read, and refered to a committee, conſiſting of Mr. *Wadſworth*, Mr. *Smith*, (S.C.) Mr. *Smith*, (M.)

The amendments of the Senate to the amendments propoſed by the Houſe to the Conſtitution, were again taken up—Some were agreed to, and others nonconcurred: Meſſrs *Madiſon*, *Sherman*, and *Vining* were appointed a committee to confer with a committee of the Senate on thoſe amendments in which the two Houſes do not agree.

Mr. JACKSON moved that leave be given to bring in a bill to alter the time fixed for the annual meeting of Congreſs. This motion after ſome debate was carried, and leave given to bring in a bill.

The Houſe then proceeded in the diſcuſſion of the Bill for fixing the temporary and permanent ſeat of the government.

Mr. MADISON objected to that clauſe of the bill which provides, that New-York ſhall be the temporary reſidence: He ſaid, it is contrary to the Conſtitution—as it deprives the two Houſes of the power to exerciſe a right expreſsly veſted in them by the Conſtitution, of adjourning without the conſent of the Supreme Executive: Should the clauſe remain, this bye law muſt be repealed, to which the conſent of The Preſident muſt be obtained before the two Houſes could adjourn: He moved therefore that the clauſe ſhould be ſtruck out.

Mr. LAWRANCE and Mr. AMES, replied to Mr. MADISON: They contended that the conſent of the Preſident is neceſſary to every act of the Legiſlature—and that the objection applied with equal force againſt a permanent as againſt a temporary eſtabliſhment of the ſeat of government.

Mr. LEE, and Mr. BOUDINOT ſupported the ſentiment of Mr. MADISON—and Mr. JACKSON, and Mr. SMITH ſpake in oppoſition to it: The vote being taken for ſtriking out the words, it paſſed in the negative.

Mr. MADISON then moved to ſtrike out the word "permanent" as it was not a term made uſe of in the Conſtitution.——This motion was negatived.

It was then ordered, That the bill be engroſſed for a third reading to-morrow.

A meſſage was received from the Senate, informing that they had concurred in the bill for eſtabliſhing the ſalaries of the Judicial department with amendments.

The amendments were to raiſe the ſalary of the Chief Juſtice from 3500 to 4000 dollars—the ſalaries of the Aſſociate Judges of the Supreme Court from 3000 to 3500—that of the Judge of the Diſtrict of Maine from 800 to 1000—and that of the Attorney General from 1500 to 2000. The Houſe agreed to theſe amendments, except the laſt.

A reſolution was received from the Senate, that it be recommended to the ſeveral States to paſs laws to make it the duty of the keepers of their ſeveral goals, to receive, and keep therein perſons commited under the authority of the United States, until they be diſcharged by due courſe of law. The United States to pay 50 cents a month, for each perſon confined, and likewiſe to ſupport all perſons commited thereto for offences againſt the United States.

Mr. WADSWORTH, from the committee on the report of the Secretary of the Treaſury, brought in a bill, by which appropriations are made for defraying of the expences of the civil liſt, the department of war, for warrants iſſued by the late Superintendant of Finance, for warrants iſſued by the late Board of Treaſury, and to pay the invalid penſioners.

This bill was read a firſt and ſecond time, and committed to a committee of the whole to be taken up to-morrow.

The report on the petition of the Baron de Glaubeck, was agreed to, allowing him fifteen months pay as a Captain in the late Continental Army.

A meſſage was received from the Senate, that they had receded from the amendment for raiſing the ſalary of the Attorney General, and had appointed a committee of conference on the diſagreeing votes of the Houſes on the amendments to the Conſtitution.

On motion of Mr. VINING the report of the committee on the petition of the public creditors was taken up and agreed to.

On motion of Mr. GERRY, the Houſe reſolved, that the Secretary of the Treaſury be directed to apply to the Supreme Executives of the ſeveral States for the ſtate of their public debts, and the funds appropriated for the diſcharge of the principal and intereſt of the ſame; and the amount of the loan-office and other ſecurities in the State Treaſuries.

Adjourned.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 22.

The committee appointed to examine the enrolled bills reported, that they had examined the bill for eſtabliſhing the ſalaries of the Judges of the Federal Courts, and of the Attorney General—the bill for allowing compenſations to the Preſident and Vice Preſident, and the bill for eſtabliſhing the Judicial Courts, and found them correct. The Speaker then ſigned the ſame.

The engroſſed bill for eſtabliſhing the Seat of Government for the United States was read the third time; and on the queſtion, ſhall this bill paſs? Mr. CARROLL called for the Ayes and Noes, which are as follow—

AYES. *Meſſrs.* Ames, Baldwin, Benſon, Contee, Clymer, Fitzſimons, Floyd, Foſter, Gale, Gilman, Goodhue, Grout, Hartley, Hathorn, Jackſon, Livermore, Lawrance, Leonard, P. Muhlenberg, Partridge, Van Ranſellaer, Scott, Seney, Sherman, Sylveſter, Smith, (M.) Stone, Thatcher, Trumbull, Wadſworth, Wynkoop. 31.

NOES. *Meſſrs.* Boudinot, Bland, Burke, Cadwallader, Carroll, Coles, Lee, Madiſon, Matthews, Moore, Parker, Schureman, Smith, (S. C.) Sumpter, Tucker, Vining, White. 17.

Mr. GOODHUE introduced a reſolution reſcinding the vote for adjourning on the 23d, and to fix the time of adjournment on the 26th inſtant. This was adopted.

The bill for altering the time of the annual meeting of Congreſs was read a ſecond time, and referred to a committee of the whole to be taken up to-morrow.

The bill to recognize and adapt to the Conſtitution of the United States, the eſtabliſhment of the troops on the frontiers, by the ordinances of the late Congreſs, was taken up in committee of the whole.

Mr. JACKSON propoſed a clauſe, to empower the Preſident of the United States to eſtabliſh poſts, to raiſe troops, and call forth the militia of the States of Georgia and South-Carolina, in caſe the Creek Indians refuſe to treat with the Commiſſioners, or violate the conditions agreed to at the enſuing negociation.

This motion after a lengthy converſation was agreed to ſo far as it reſpects calling forth the militia, or ſending part of the troops on the eſtabliſhment, to that State, ſhould the Preſident think proper.

The committee having gone thro the bill, and made ſeveral amendments, they roſe, and the Chairman reported them to the Houſe—The Houſe immediately took the amendments into conſideration, and agreed to the ſame. It was then ordered that the bill be engroſſed for a third reading to-morrow.

A meſſage was received from the Preſident of the United States, by Mr. Secretary LEAR, with the act for allowing compenſations to the members of the two Houſes and their reſpective officers, which has received his approbation and ſignature.

A meſſage was received from the Senate, by Mr. Secretary OTIS, informing the Houſe, that the act for the temporary eſtabliſhment of the Poſt-Office, was returned to the Senate with the approbation and ſignature of the Preſident.—Alſo, that the Senate concurred in the reſolution of the Houſe to adjourn the 26th inſtant.

Mr. BLAND moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill, to amend and explain a clauſe in the Coaſting Act, which was granted, and Mr. BLAND, Mr. GOODHUE and Mr. BENSON were appointed a committee for the purpoſe.

Adjourned till to-morrow ten o'clock.

EUROPEAN ACCOUNTS, BY THE LAST ARRIVALS.

LONDON. AUGUST 5.

The following are copies of the letters of Monſieur de Montmorin and the Duke of Dorſet.

Letter of Monſieur Montmorin to the Duc de Liancourt, Preſident of the National Aſſembly.

"*Verſailles, 27th July,* 1789.

M. PRESIDENT,

"The Ambaſſador of England has intreated to have the honor, without loſs of time, to communicate the following letter to you. I have thought it ſo much leſs in my power to reſiſt his application, as it is certain that he apprized me, in effect, verbally in the beginning of June laſt, of a plot againſt the port of Breſt. Thoſe who meditated this ſcheme deſired certain ſuccors for the expedition, and to have an aſylum in England. The Ambaſſador did not give me any indication relative to the authors of this project, and he aſſured me that they were abſolutely unknown to him. The enquiries that I have been able to make, after machinations ſo uncertain, have been as fruitleſs as they ought to be; and I have been obliged to confine myſelf to engage the Count de Luzerne to give the Commandant of Breſt precautions to double his vigilance and activity.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

"DE MONTMORIN."

Letter of the Duke of Dorſet, Ambaſſador at the Court of France, to the Count de Montmorin, Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

Paris, 26th July, 1789.

"SIR,

"It has been communicated to me from divers quarters, that endeavors have been made to inſinuate that my court had fomented in part the troubles that have afflicted the Capital for ſome time paſt; that ſhe had taken advantage of the preſent opportunity to take up arms againſt France; and that even a fleet was upon the coaſt to co-operate with the diſcontented party. Totally deſtitute of truth as theſe rumors are, they appear to me to have reached the National Aſſembly: And the Courier National, which gives an account of the ſittings of the 23d and 24th of this month, leaves ſuſpicions which give me ſo much more pain, as you know, Sir, how far my court is from deſerving them.

"Your Excellency will call to mind ſeveral converſations which I had with you in the beginning of June laſt, the horrid plot that had been propoſed relative to the port of Breſt: the anxiety that I felt to put the King and his Miniſters upon their guard, the anſwer of my court which correſponds with my ſentiments, and which revolts with horror from the propoſition that was made:—In fine, the aſſurances of attachment which ſhe repeated to the King and the Nation, enabled you to make known to his Majeſty how much I participated in the emotion which the treachery muſt give him.

"As my Court has infinitely at heart to preſerve the good harmony which ſubſiſts between the two nations, and to remove all contrary ſuſpicions, I intreat you, Sir, to ſubmit this letter, without delay, to the Preſident of the National Aſſembly. You are aware how eſſential it is to me to juſtify my own conduct, and that of my Court, and to do my utmoſt to deſtroy the effect of the inſidious inſinuations which have been ſo induſtriouſly propagated.

"It is of infinite importance to me that the National Aſſembly ſhould know my ſentiments, that they ſhould do juſtice to thoſe of my nation, and to the open conduct which they have conſtantly held towards France, ſince I had the honor to be her organ.

"I have it ſo much more at heart, that you ſhould not loſe a moment in making this known, as I owe not only to my perſonal character, to my country, and to the Engliſh that are here, to protect them from all the reflections that may ariſe from the miſrepreſentation. "I have the honor to be, &c.

"DORSET."

The happy effect produced by the Duke of Dorſet's letter is ſuch, that every generous Engliſhman will read with pleaſure the following extract from a Speech made in the National Aſſembly on the occaſion.

"A people who owe their name to the antique frankneſs of their anceſtors, are at length determined to ſhake off the unworthy chains with which tyrants have loaded their arms. It is no longer the leaguing and ſeditious people armed by fanaticiſm againſt themſelves under Charles IX. and Henry III. It is no longer the people of the Fronde, who baſely harneſſed to the car of Louis XIV. holds out to Europe the convulſions of an energy which ſlaves never can poſſeſs. It is no longer the people, who under Louis XV. ſang their defeats and victories in the ſame tone. It is a brave people, who, after a long captivity, awaken to the remembrance of their being born freemen, who wiſh to be free, and will periſh or attain their object.

"And who will take upon them to oppoſe ſo reſpectable an energy? Can it be you, you frank and courageous nation, who have ſpilt ſuch ſeas of blood for Liberty? Oh, Engliſhmen! the error of a moment has made us preſume it poſſible. The wicked ſyſtem of Court Policy, an ancient and fooliſh rivalſhip, which ages have been unable to deſtroy, induced us to dread an event which would have diſhonored the glorious cauſe of freedom and humanity. But all our doubts are at an end: Our ardor will be doubled by poſſeſſing your eſteem and approbation. Your worthy repreſentative has taught us yeſterday, *that the braveſt nation in the world is alſo the moſt generous!*"

THE FORM OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF FRANCE.

The committee has reported its deliberations on the ſubject of the New Form of Government. The Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, M. de Clermont Tonnerre, and M. Mounier, read the preliminary obſervations to this important object before the National Aſſembly. The Abbe Syeyes has likewiſe made known his very valuable treatiſe on the Rights of Mankind: M. Mounier has done the ſame; both point to the ſame object, though they take different ways to come at it.

The principal heads of the Form of Government which the Committee has recommended, are as follows:

That the National Aſſembly ſhall be compoſed of two Houſes of Parliament: [*The committee all agree in this point, but they find a difficulty to decide in what manner the two chambers of Parliament ſhall be organized—ſome are of opinion that both ſhould be elective—others, that the King ſhould have the power to nominate the members of the firſt, in the ſame manner as our Houſe of Lords is created.*]

That the States General ſhould be permanent, and meet yearly.

That the King ſhall have the Treaſury of the State under his protection.

That he ſhall have the ſupreme and abſolute command over the army.

That he ſhall have the nomination to all places, civil as well as eccleſiaſtical.

That he ſhall have a revenue for the maintenance of his dignity, even more conſiderable than he has allowed him at preſent.

Such are the principal points on which the Conſtitution is to be raiſed.

The following are authentic copies of the letter of the King of France to Mr. NECKAR, and his anſwer.

"*I HAVE been deceived reſpecting you. Violence has been committed on my character. Behold me at length enlightened. Come, Sir, come without delay, and reſume your claim to my confidence, which you have acquired for ever. My heart is known to you. I expect you with all my nation, and I very ſincerely ſhare in its impatience. On which, I pray God, Sir, until your return, to take you into his holy and worthy keeping.* "LOUIS."

Anſwer of Mr. Neckar, dated Geneva, July 23, in the Evening, and received by His Majeſty the 26th.

"SIRE,

"*I HAVE this inſtant received the letter with which it has pleaſed your Majeſty to honor me. I want expreſſions to teſtify to you the tender emotions I have experienced on the return of your favor: It penetrates me more and more with the obligation I had long impoſed on myſelf, of always diſtinguiſhing in your Majeſty, the juſt Prince, the honeſt man, who can operate only the happineſs of the nation when he acts from himſelf, from the powerful Monarch who governs it, and who is frequently expoſed to do what is repugnant to his heart.*

"*I only take the time, Sire, to wipe away the tears which your letter has made me ſhed, and I fly to obey your orders. I ſhall not bear to you my heart; that is a property you have acquired by a thouſand titles, and to which I no longer have any claim.*

"*I reckon with impatience, and am ſtriving to accelerate the moments which are neceſſary for me to proceed to offer you the laſt drop of my blood, my feeble talents, my entire devotion to your ſacred perſon, and the profound reſpect with which I am,*

"*Sire,*

"*Your Majeſty's moſt humble,*

"*Moſt obedient,*

"*And moſt zealous ſervant,*

"*NECKAR.*"

Mr. NECKAR arrived at Verſailles on Tueſday night, in perfect health, and yeſterday, at two o'clock, waited on the National Aſſembly, where he was received with ſuch applauſes and emotions, far beyond all applauſes, as conſtitute the moſt glorious recompence this world is able to beſtow on virtue.

At Straſbourg great violence has been commited. The Chief Magiſtrate was obliged to eſcape in a cart load of tanner's bark. The populace forced the town houſe, and demoliſhed all the furniture, took poſſeſſion of 4000l. ſterl. of the public caſh, and deſtroyed many of the archives. The citizens required leave from the Comte de Rochambeau to arm, which he refuſed, as well as to call on the military. The Prince de Heſſe Darnſtadt, Colonel of a regiment in garriſon, took this on himſelf, and with 4000 armed citizens, diſperſed the mob, ſeveral of whom were hanged. In their violence, they had got at the vaſt tuns of Rheniſh Wine, and ſtock which are preſerved there *en depot*, and waded up to their knees in it.

We had great illuminations at the Palais Royal, laſt night, on account of M. NECKAR's arrival; but they will be general when he viſits the Hotel de Ville, to which he will be invited. The National Club at the Palais Royal had eleven of the arcades moſt beautifully illuminated with tranſparencies of the King and M Neckar.

The people in Franche Comte have deſtroyed all the title deeds and archives of the Nobles.

NEW-YORK, SEPTEMBER 23.

The Advices by the French Packet ſtate—That the Miniſtry which came in, on the removal of M. Neckar, continued in office but four days—when the King, finding that the ariſtocratic party had miſled him, threw himſelf into the arms of the people.—Reſtored M. Neckar, and his compatriots.—Speedy juſtice was executed upon ſome of the principals of the late Miniſtry—ſeveral of whom were beheaded—One of them who anticipated the public vengeance had the ceremony of his funeral performed, but the artifice being detected, the farce was turned into a tragedy, by the loſs of his head.—Sixteen committees were appointed in the city of Paris for various purpoſes, whoſe vigilance and activity had reſtored it to peace and ſecurity: One of theſe committees was to furniſh ſupplies of grain, &c.

When the King's army approached the city, the inhabitants immediately armed themſelves, by ſeizing the hoſpital of the invalids; and to fortify the avenues to the city, they tore up the pavements—with theſe, carriages, &c. they formed a temporary fortification, in which the heavy artillery was placed. Mean time the people attacked the Baſtile, the Governor of which having admitted a number of them, drew up the bridge, and then ſacrificed the whole.—The citizens finding that they had been deceived, ſcaled the walls of this caſtle—took the Governor and Lieut. Governor out, and beheaded them both—and then leveled the walls to the ground—but few priſoners were found therein. During all theſe commotions, the National Aſſembly continued ſitting, and preſerved the greateſt moderation, dignity and firmneſs.—The citizens were armed, and formed into regular corps under proper officers: And ſuch arrangements made as reſtored peace and tranquility, and gave the happieſt proſpect of eſtabliſhing a free government.—These events will form an important epoch in the annals of Europe, and induce a material change in the politics of the Eaſtern Hemiſphere.

During the late diſturbances in France tis ſaid not more than thirty perſons have loſt their lives, on the part of the people.

ARRIVALS.—NEW YORK.

Saturday, Sloop Corinna, Sacket, St. Martins, 24 days.
Sunday, Sloop Brothers, Walton, Digby, 12 do.
Monday, Brig Nancy, Carberry, Kingſton, 40 do.
Ship Favorite, Willſon, Hull, 56 do.
Brig Betſy, Motley, Charleſton, 18 do.
Ship Wm. Pitt, White, Kingſton, 35 do.
Brig Columbia, Paddock, Port au Prince, 25 do.
Sloop N. Y. Packet, Albertſon, Philadelphia, 9 do.
Sloop Nancy, Price, Philadelphia, 7 do.
Packet Franklin, Vourotois, Bourdeaux, 52 do.
Ship Brittannia, Renwick, Yarmouth, 56 do.
Sloop Polly, Painter, Bermuda, 12 do.
Tueſday, Ship Merchant, Bunker, Havre de Grace, —— do.
Ship St. Phillip, Harriſon, Bonnaviſta, —— do.
Sloop Lady-Hammond, —— Grenada, —— do.
Brig Charlotte, Woodruff, Aux Cayes, —— do.

The RIGHT CONSTITUTION *of a* COMMONWEALTH EXAMINED,

(IN CONTINUATION.)

" IN free ſtates, the people being ſenſible of " their paſt condition in former times under the " power of great ones, and comparing it with the " poſſibilities and enjoyments of the preſent, be- " come immediately inſtructed, that their main " intereſt and concernment conſiſts in liberty ; " and are taught by common ſenſe, that the only " way to ſecure it from the reach of great ones, " is to place it in the people's hands, adorned " with all the prerogatives and rights of ſupre- " macy." It is very true that the main intereſt and concernment of the people is liberty. If their liberties are well ſecured they may be happy if they will ; and they generally, perhaps always, are ſo. The way to ſecure liberty is to place it in the people's hands, that is, to give them a power at all times to defend it in the legiſlature and in the courts of juſtice : But to give the people, uncontrolled, all the prerogatives and rights of ſupremacy, meaning the whole executive and judicial power, or even the whole undivided legiſlative, is not the way to preſerve liberty. In ſuch a government it is often as great a crime to oppoſe or decry a popular demagogue, or any of his principal friends, as in a ſimple monarchy to oppoſe a king, or in a ſimple ariſtocracy the ſenators : The people will not bear a contemptuous look or diſreſpectful word ; nay, if the ſtile of your homage, flattery, and adoration, is not as hyperbolical as the popular enthuſiaſm dictates, it is conſtrued into diſaffection ; the popular cry of envy, jealouſy, ſuſpicious temper, vanity, arrogance, pride, ambition, impatience, of a ſuperior, is ſet up againſt a man, and the rage and fury of an ungovernable rabble, ſtimulated underhand by the demagogic deſpots, breaks out into every kind of inſult, obloquy, and outrage, often ending in murders and maſſacres, like thoſe of the De Witts, more horrible than any that the annals of deſpotiſm can produce.

It is indeed true, that " the intereſt of free- " dom is a virgin that every one ſeeks to deflower ; " and like a virgin it muſt be kept, or elſe (ſo " great is the luſt of mankind after dominion) " there follows a rape upon the firſt opportuni- " ty." From this it follows, that liberty in the legiſlature is " more ſecure in the people's hands, " than in any other, becauſe they are moſt con- " cerned in it:"—provided you keep the executive power out of their hands entirely, and give the property and liberty of the rich a ſecurity in a ſenate, againſt the encroachments of the poor in a popular aſſembly. Without this the rich will never enjoy any liberty, property, reputation, or life, in ſecurity. The rich have as clear a right to their liberty and property as the poor : It is eſſential to liberty that the rights of the rich be ſecured ; if they are not, they will ſoon be robbed and become poor, and in their turn rob their robbers, and thus neither the liberty or property of any will be regarded.

" The careful attention to liberty makes the " people both jealous and zealous, keeping a " conſtant guard againſt the attempts and en- " croachments of powerful or crafty undermin- " ers." But this is true only while they are made a diſtinct body from the executive power, and the moſt conſpicuous citizens mingle altogether, and a ſcramble inſtantly commences for the loaves and fiſhes, abolition of debts, ſhutting up courts of juſtice, diviſions of property, &c. Is it not an inſult to common ſenſe, for a people with the ſame breath to cry *liberty* an *abolition of debts* and *diviſion of goods?* If debts are once aboliſhed, and goods are divided, there will be the ſame reaſon for a freſh abolition and diviſion every month and every day, and thus the idle, vicious and abandoned, will live in conſtant riot on the ſpoils of the induſtrious, virtuous, and deſerving. " Powerful and crafty underminers " have no where ſuch rare ſport" as in a ſimple democracy, or ſingle popular aſſembly. No where, not in the completeſt deſpotiſms, does human nature ſhow itſelf ſo completely depraved, ſo nearly approaching to an equal mixture of brutality and deviliſm, as in the laſt ſtages of ſuch a democracy, and in the beginning of deſpotiſm that always ſucceeds it

" A people having once taſted the ſweets of " freedom, are ſo affected with it, that if they " diſcover or ſuſpect the leaſt deſign to encroach " upon it, they count it a crime never to be for- " given." Strange perverſion of truth and fact! This is ſo far from the truth, that our author himſelf is not able to produce a ſingle inſtance of it as a proof or illuſtration. Inſtead of adducing an example of it from ſimple democracy, he is obliged to have recourſe to an example that operates ſtrongly againſt him, becauſe taken from an ariſtocracy. In the Roman State, one gave up his children, another his brother, to death, to revenge an attempt againſt common liberty. Was Brutus a man of the people? was Brutus for a government of the people in their ſovereign aſſemblies? Was not Brutus a Patrician? Did he not think patricians a different order of beings from plebeians? Did he not erect a ſimple ariſtocracy? Did he not ſacrifice his ſons to preſerve that ariſtocracy? Is it not equally probable that he would have ſacrificed them to preſerve his ariſtocracy from any attempt to ſet up ſuch a government as our author contends for, or even againſt any attempt to have given the plebeians a ſhare in the government ; nay, againſt any attempt to erect the office of tribunes at that time? —" Divers ſacrificed their lives to preſerve it." To preſerve what? The ſtanding government of grandees, againſt which our author's whole book is written. " Some ſacrificed their beſt friends " to vindicate it, upon bare ſuſpicion, as in the " caſe of Melius and Manlius." To vindicate what? Liberty? popular liberty? plebeian liberty? Preciſely the contrary. Theſe characters were murdered for daring to be friends to popular liberty ; for daring to think of limiting the power of the grandees, by introducing a ſhare of popular authority, and a mixed conſtitution ; and the people themſelves were ſo far from the zeal, jealouſy, and love of liberty, that our author aſcribes to them, that they ſuffered their own authority to be proſtituted before their eyes, to the deſtruction of the only friends they had, and to the eſtabliſhment of their enemies, and a form of government by grandees, under which they had no liberty, and in which they had no ſhare.—Our author cites examples of revenge in Greece. 1656 was a late age in the hiſtory of philoſophy, as well as morality and religion, for a writer to preach up revenge as a duty and a virtue: Reaſon and philanthropy, as well as religion, pronounce it a weakneſs and a vice in all poſſible caſes. Examples enough of it, however, may be found in all revolutions : But monarchies and ariſtocracies have practiſed it, and therefore the virtue of revenge is not peculiar to our author's plan. In Corcyra itſelf the people were maſſacred by the grandees as often as they maſſacred the grandees : and of all kind of ſpirits that we read of, out of hell, this is the laſt that an enlightened friend of liberty would philoſophically inculcate. Let legal liberty vindicate itſelf by legal puniſhments and moral meaſures ; but mobs and maſſacres are the diſgrace of her ſacred cauſe ſtill more than that of humanity.

ODE TO POPULARITY.

By R. CUMBERLAND, Esquire.

O POPULARITY, thou giddy thing!
What grace or profit doſt thou bring?
Thou art not honeſt, thou art not ſame ;
I cannot call thee by a worthy name
To ſay I hate thee were not true ;
Contempt is properly thy due ;
I cannot love thee and deſpiſe thee too.

Thou art no patriot, but the veriеſt cheat
That ever traffick'd in deceit ;
A ſtate empiric, bellowing loud
Freedom and phrenzy to the mobbing crowd ;
And what car'ſt thou, if thou can'ſt raiſe
Illuminations and huzzas
Tho' half the city ſunk in one bright blaze!

A patriot! no ; for thou doſt hold in hate
The very peace and welfare of the ſtate ;
When anarchy aſſaults the Sovereign's throne,
Then is thy day, the night thy own ;
Then is thy triumph, when the foe
Levels ſome dark inſidious blow,
Or ſtrong rebellion lays thy country low.

Thou canſt affect humility, to hide
Some deep device of monſtrous pride ;
Conſcience and charity pretend,
For compaſſing ſome private end ;
And in a canting conventicle note
Long ſcripture paſſages canſt quote
When perſecution rankles in thy throat.

Thou haſt no ſenſe of nature at thy heart,
No ear for ſcience, and no eye for art,
Yet confidently doſt decide at once
This man a wit, and that a dunce ;
And (ſtrange to tell) how'er unjuſt,
We take thy dictates upon truſt,
For if the world will be deceiv'd, it muſt.

In truth and juſtice thou haſt no delight,
Virtue thou doſt not know by ſight ;
But, as the chymiſt by his ſkill,
From droſs and dregs a ſpirit can diſtill,
So from the priſons, or the ſtews,
Bullies, blaſphemers, cheats, or jews
Shall turn to heroes, if they ſerve thy views.

Thou doſt but make a ladder of the mob,
Whereby to climb into ſome courtly job ;
There ſafe repoſing, warm and ſnug,
Thou anſwer'ſt with a patient ſhrug
Miſcreants, begone ; who cares for you,
Ye baſe born brawling, clamorous crew?
You've ſerv'd my turn, and, vagabonds, adieu.

WEBSTER's CRITICISMS UPON *GIBBON's* HISTORY,

(CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 152.)

IN deſcription, our author often indulges a figurative poetical manner, highly improper.

" The figure of the imperial city (Conſtantinople) may be repreſented under that of an unequal triangle. The obtuſe point, which advances towards the eaſt, and the ſhores of Aſia, meets and repels the waves of the Thracian Boſphorus." Here the author ſoars on poetic wings and we behold the *obtuſe point* of a *triangle*, *marching* eaſtward, *attacking* and *repulſing* its *foes*, the *waves* of the Boſphorus ; in the next line, the author ſinks from the heights of Parnaſſus, and creeps on the plain of *ſimple narative*—" The northern ſide of the city is bounded by the harbor."

" On theſe banks, tradition long preſerved the memory of the ſylvan reign of Amycus, who defied the *ſon of Leda* to the combat of the Ceſtus." The author takes it for granted that his reader is acquainted with all the ancient fables of Greece and Rome. Such *alluſions* to facts or fables make a wretched figure in *ſober hiſtory**.

The author, after the manner of the poets, admits epiſodes into his deſcriptions, by way of variety and embelliſhment. He begins a deſcription of Conſtantinople ; to do juſtice to the city, he muſt deſcribe its ſituation ; he therefore gives an account of the Thracian Boſphorus, the Propontus and Helleſpont, interſperſed with ancient fables, and adorned with Poetical imagery. When he arrives at the mouth of the Helleſpont, his fancy leads him to the ſeat of ancient Troy, and he cannot paſs it without telling us from Homer, where the Grecian armies were encamped ; where the flanks of the army were guarded by Agamemnon's braveſt chiefs ; where Achilles and his myrmidons occupied a promontory ; where Ajax pitched his tent ; and where his tomb was erected after his death. After indulging his fancy on this memorable field of heroic actions, he is *qualified* to deſcribe Conſtantinople.

But it is needleſs to multiply examples ; for ſimilar faults occur in almoſt every page. Moſt men, who have read this hiſtory, perceive a difficulty in underſtanding it ; yet few have attempted to find the reaſon ; and hardly a man has dared to cenſure the ſtile and manner.

To what cauſe then ſhall we aſcribe the almoſt unanimous conſent of the Engliſh and Americans, in laviſhing praiſes upon Gibbon's hiſtory? In ſome meaſure doubtleſs to the greatneſs of the attempt, and the want of an Engliſh hiſtory which ſhould unfold a ſeries of events which connects ancient and modern times. The man who ſhould light a lamp, to illuminate the dark period of time from the 5th to the 15th century, would deſerve immortal honors. The attempt is great ; it is noble ; it is meritorious. Gibbon appears to have been faithful, laborious, and perhaps impartial. It is his ſtile and manner only I am cenſuring ; for theſe are exceedingly faulty. For proof of this I appeal to a ſingle fact, which I have never heard contradicted ; that a man who would comprehend Gibbon, muſt read with painful attention, and after all receive little improvement.

The encomiums of his countrymen proceed from falſe taſte ; a taſte for ſuperfluous ornament. Men are diſpoſed to leſſen the trouble of reading, and to ſpare the labor of examining into the cauſes and conſequences of events. They chooſe to pleaſe their eyes and ears, rather than feed the mind. Hence the rage for *abridgements*, and a diſplay of rhetorical embelliſhments. But a man who would know the minute ſprings of action ; the remote and collateral, as well as the direct cauſes and conſequences of events ; and the nice ſhades of character which diſtinguiſh eminent men, with a view to draw rules from living examples ; ſuch a man muſt paſs by abridgements as traſh ; he muſt have recourſe to the original writers, or to collections of authentic papers. Indeed a collection of all the material, official papers, arranged in the order of time, however dry and unentertaining to moſt readers, is really the *beſt* and the *only authentic* hiſtory of a country. The philoſopher and ſtateſman, who wiſh to ſubſtitute fact for opinion, will generally ſuſpect human teſtimony ; but repoſe full confidence in the evidence of papers, which have been the original inſtruments of public tranſactions, and recorded by public authority.

Theſe ſtrictures are contrary to the opinions of moſt men, eſpecially as they regard the ſtile of the author mentioned. Yet they are written with full conviction of their being well founded. They proceed from an earneſt deſire of arreſting the progreſs of falſe taſte in writing, and of ſeeing my countrymen called back to nature and truth.

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* So Gillies, in his Hiſtory of Greece, chap. II. talks about the death of the " *friend* of Achilles :" but leaves the reader to diſcover the perſon—not having once mentioned the name of *Patroclus*. I would obſerve further, that ſuch appellations as the *ſon of Leda* are borrowed from the Greek ; but wholly improper in our language. The Greeks had a diſtinct ending of the name of the father to ſignify ſon or deſcendants ; as *Heraclidæ*. This form of the noun was known and had a definite meaning in Greece ; but in Engliſh the idiom is awkward and embarraſſing.

ANECDOTE.

ABOUT thirty years ago great complaints were made that the Watchmen of London and Weſtminſter neglected their duty to a great degree.—On this a wiſe Senator made a motion in the Houſe of Commons, for leave to bring in a Bill to compel Watchmen to ſleep in the Day, that they might the better diſcharge their duty in the Night.—The late Sir James Creed begged the Hon. Member would include him in the Bill ; for he was ſo troubled with the Gout, that he could neither ſleep Night nor Day.

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